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ELEAZER ARNOLD HOUSE, 1687
[see inside front cover]

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ELEAZER ARNOLD HOUSE, 1687	Cover
THE PROVIDENCE TOWN PAPERS	65
by Bradford F. Swan	
FIRST CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY PEW HOLDERS, 1816	70
THE IROQUOIS VISIT ROCHAMBEAU AT NEWPORT IN 1780	73
by Durand Echeverria	
ELEAZER ARNOLD	81
by William Greene Roelker	
HERODIAS (LONG) HICKS-GARDINER-PORTER	
A TALE OF OLD NEWPORT	84
by G. Andrews Moriarty	
THE COUNTERFEITING VENTURE OF ABEL AND SAMUEL CHAPIN	93
by Kenneth Scott	
BOOK REVIEWS	95
NEW MEMBERS	Back Cover

ELEAZER ARNOLD HOUSE, 1687

Photograph by Laurence E. Tilley.

[reproduced on front cover]

The Eleazer Arnold House is on Great Road in Lincoln, R. I., about a mile west of the village of Lonsdale. It stands on a slight elevation near a brook and not far from the Moshassuck River. An unusual characteristic is the position of a very large fireplace in each of the two adjoining rooms at the chimney end of the building. The house has been restored by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities and recently rededicated. It is open to the public.

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THE PROVIDENCE TOWN PAPERS

by BRADFORD F. SWAN*

WHAT IS BEYOND a doubt the most important single acquisition in the history of the Rhode Island Historical Society occurred this spring when the Providence City Council voted to transfer to the Society's custody the vast collection, mostly manuscripts, known as the Providence Town Papers. For approximately fifty years these papers had been stored in a second-floor vault in the City Hall, under the care of the City Sergeant. They have been available to students, but circumstances were such that few persons either knew about them or put them to the historian's use. It was primarily to make them more readily accessible to historians and research scholars, as well as to place them where their custody would be both sympathetic and enthusiastic, that the transfer was voted.

This transfer has now been effected, and the papers, almost all of them mounted in large, substantially-bound, ledger-size volumes, are in the Society's air-conditioned vault, laid horizontally in racks which were also transferred from City Hall and had been constructed especially to hold them. The racks, adjusted to fit the Society's vault, were mounted on cinder-block foundations, to raise the books off the floor and permit free circulation of air through the stack. The whole installation should be considered most satisfactory for the future well-being of this extremely valuable manuscript collection.

By a strange coincidence some of these papers, probably the most valuable group of them, were once before deposited with the Historical Society. This earlier transfer took place in 1845, and the papers at that time — coming to the Society in a jumbled state

*Mr. Swan is Editor of Entertainment and the Arts, *Providence Journal* and *The Evening Bulletin*.

(legend has it that there were several "sacks" filled with them) — became mixed with the Society's own manuscripts. Just before the turn of the century, when the Record Commissioners were working to bring the city's manuscripts into some sort of order, this group of town papers, all of them dating from before 1800, was returned to City Hall and mounted in five volumes. They became known to the Record Commissioners as the "second series" and were referred to as such in the reports and indices prepared by the commissioners. Later they were printed, as the most important of the town papers, in volumes XV and XVII of the *Early Records of the Town of Providence*, and in that form they have long been both familiar and readily available to scholars and historians.

Now they are back at the Historical Society again. Although as data they have been worked and re-worked over the years in their carefully transcribed and printed form, they retain an importance, as objects, which it is impossible to overemphasize.

They contain, for instance, the largest number of Roger Williams letters in any single collection except the famous Winthrop Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Such a wealth of autograph material should not, however, overshadow the other historical treasures, so important to the early history of Providence and Rhode Island, to be found in these five volumes.

Although this group may be considered the "cream of the crop," it includes only 1369 papers. The other part of the collection, contained in 155 bound volumes, includes upwards of 65,000 papers!

The entire collection embraces the period from 1639 to June, 1832, when the town became a city. It was set in order before November, 1897, when the Record Commissioners submitted their fifth and final report. In their fourth report, in 1895, the commissioners stated:

"The bulk of the material . . . which the commissioners have brought into orderly arrangement, was found in cupboards in the store room of the City Hall, where they were deposited when the old City Building was vacated in 1878."

They noted that their work had inspired private owners to present papers in their possession to the city, thereby enriching the collection. A few of these came from Miss Ann Elizabeth Arnold, 365 more from Howard Redwood Guild, 1082 from William Henry Fenner, and a small group from Mayor Olney. Another large donation of

papers, once belonging to the Warner family, was made later by Mrs. Catherine R. Peirce; there were 1921 papers in this lot. Still later a collection of Sprague papers was added, and this lot now occupies the final volume in the set.

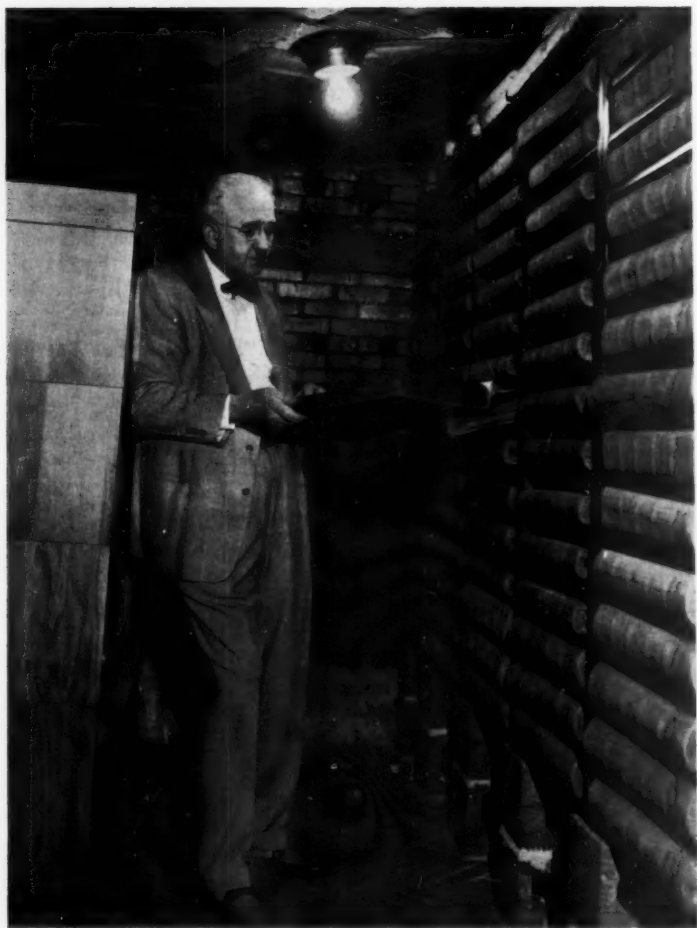
The papers are as rich and varied in content as they are numerous, and to give anything more than a sketchy idea of what they contain would fill several numbers of this publication. The Record Commissioners appended to their fourth report a subject index covering papers dated between 1642 and 1790. It fills 158 printed pages. In their fifth report they printed another index, of 133 pages, giving detailed information about the 1369 papers mounted in the five volumes already mentioned.

During the years of the Works Progress Administration's existence, a project was set up to make a complete index of the Providence Town Papers. A vast amount of work was done and a large number of cards prepared. This index was found in the cellar of City Hall and transferred to the Historical Society.

In addition to manuscripts, the Providence Town Papers include a large number of what bibliographers call printed forms. In most cases the blank spaces in these forms have been filled in. Some of them relate to routine receipts for payment received, or to promissory notes for taxes, or to bond purchases. One particularly large group is a set, virtually complete, of paper-money bank mortgages, and any students investigating this complicated subject in the field of Colonial finance will undoubtedly find them of great value. Genealogists will also find them of use in discovering the whereabouts of certain persons at certain dates. Both types of researchers will be greatly assisted by a special index to these mortgage papers which the Record Commissioners appended to their fourth report.

It remains, however, for future generations of scholars and historians to determine the final limits of value which these papers possess. In this regard it might be of interest to report what a merely cursory examination of a few volumes has turned up.

In the field of printed material, for instance, the papers offer two early Rhode Island broadsides hitherto unknown to bibliographers. Both of them were printed in 1773 and relate to plans to raise funds by subscription to build the Liberty Bridge, a projected forerunner of the Washington Bridge. John Brown, who built the latter, was also



Courtesy of Providence Journal-Bulletin

PROVIDENCE TOWN PAPERS being examined by the librarian in
the Society's fireproof, moisture-controlled vault

behind the Liberty Bridge project.

How many more broadsides and similar printed material the volumes may contain only a page-by-page check would reveal, but certainly before the corrections and additions to Alden's *Rhode Island Imprints, 1727-1800* are ready for publication this check will have to be made.

Some idea of the treasures which lie here awaiting resurrection can be gained from the fact that the first volume examined by the writer revealed, on an early page, a letter signed with the name of Andrew Edmonds but written entirely, even including the signature, in the unmistakable hand of Roger Williams. Edmonds, a blacksmith and a veteran of King Philip's War, was petitioning the town in 1678/9 for the grant of an acre or two of land "about ye Narrow Passage," where, says his letter, "I will (if God will) build my house, build boats, & it is like keepe a Ferry for ye publike as well as my private good."

The present writer feels certain, having encountered other examples, that writing letters for others was one of Williams' common practices; should some future student care to examine the subject he should be able to find his material in these Providence Town Papers.

Not all the manuscripts have the glamour of Roger Williams' autograph letters, however. Some of the post-1800 volumes, for instance, contain large numbers of neatly written applications for appointment as "usher" in the district schools. Should you care to ascertain who held liquor licenses in Providence in the 1820s, you will find numerous blank forms, all properly filled in with the names of the license holders.

Students of economic history should rejoice at the sight of the innumerable bills for odd jobs which have been preserved in this collection; there are literally thousands of them, all shedding light on prices paid for goods and services at various times. In 1812, for instance, carting three loads of shells for the town brought the fat fee of 50 cents, and in the following year someone received \$2.10 for "notifying 42 Gentlemen School Committee" at five cents each.

The papers are filled with military information, payments for war-like stores, lists of members of the trainbands, etc. They also recall the harsh days when indigent strangers were ordered back to the towns they came from, and each case of the poor widow or orphan

was considered by the town fathers as a separate matter to be examined in minute detail.

Seekers after scandals long since forgotten can examine the testimony taken down in considerable detail in paternity cases and here preserved as part of the record of a town government in action.

Few American cities can boast a miscellany of papers to equal these in the minutiae of official business which they reveal. Under ordinary circumstances the best the researcher can hope for is a treasurer's final accounts, listing only amounts paid, and to whom, or entries of action taken by a town council, but without the reasons underlying the action; here in these papers one can find the information which the well-ordered municipal household generally commits to the flames or the papermaker's vats — in short, the stuff which ordinarily is thrown away or destroyed as not worth keeping for posterity's enjoyment and enlightenment.

These Providence Town Papers, now made available to all serious students of the history of this city and state, constitute a mine with many a vein of pure gold to be worked. It is to be hoped that the transfer from City Hall to the Historical Society's vault will mean more than that the papers have simply shifted custodians. They now lie ready for the researcher who, alone, can restore them to life.

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY PEW HOLDERS, 1816

[concluded from April, 1952, v. 11, no. 2, p. 47]

- (106) Wm. Cranston Davenport, son of Joseph and Susan (Gladding), Davenport, b. Aug. 25, 1807, d. Montague, Mass. July 4, 1885; m. (1) Ann Eliza Spooner; b. Newport, June 23, 1806; d. July 19, 1855; m. (2) 1857, Harriet S. Bosworth, d. April 24, 1867; age 60 yrs. He was the father of Samuel Davenport, b. Sept. 3, 1841; d. 1897; m. Dencie E. Dunbar, and they were the parents of Miss Louise Davenport, b. 1882. W. C. Davenport must have acquired pew 106 later than 1816, having been born in 1807.
- (107) David Barton, son of John, b. Oxford, Mass. d. June 23, 1854; age 72 yrs. He was a grocer in 1824 on Market St. where the Barton

Building now is. A dau. Mary O. Barton, m. John Peirce and had son, John, who was professor, B. U. Another dau. Celinda, m. John W. Aborn, son of Edward, and had Edward; John W.; Benjamin; James.

- (108) Christopher Bentley, d. July 4, 1818; age 54 years; m. Phebe, d. July 26, 1826; shoemaker on John St. in 1824. See again: could not have been shoemaker in 1824, if he d. 1818. Perhaps son of Christopher?
- (109) James Payne, not in directory of 1824 and have not found him in the Prov. records.
- (110) Nathaniel Pearce, b. Dec. 5, 1770; d. Dec. 26, 1851; m. Sally Stoddard. He was a mariner at 41 George Street in 1824.
- (110) Cyrus Ellis, b. 1771; d. 1828; m. Hannah..... of Little Comp-ton. He was son of Col. Jonathan and Hannah (Harding) Ellis; had dau. Amey A. Ellis who m. Albert F. Dyer. He was a tailor in 1824 on George St. with residence at 217 Benefit St.
- (112) George Graves, Capt. b. 1771; d. Nov. 20, 1818; left four children, of whom Edward d. 1825, in 19th yr.
- (111) Charles Holden, b. Feb. 4, 1779; d. Feb. 21, 1860; m. Anna, dau. of Levi and Sarah (Hunt) Hall; a mariner living near the southwest corner of Waterman and Benefit Sts. in 1824. Had: Charles Holden Jr. and Levi Hall Holden, the latter Major and Surgeon, U. S. Army.
- (113) Amherst Everett, b. Attleboro, Mass. d. Nov. 30, 1866; age 79 yrs.; son of Abijah and Abigail (Read) Everett; m. Penelope, dau. of John Howland; she d. May 5, 1869. Their children were: Richmond P. Everett, b. Sept. 6, 1826; d. Mar. 9, 1910; he did not marry; was treasurer of the R. I. Hist. Soc. thirty-five years; Mary H. Everett m. Judge John P. Knowles; two sons went to California in 1849. Penelope Everett gave by will to her dau. Mary H. Knowles a silver tankard, etc., and to her son Edward, in Stockton, Cal. a silver platter; also, to her son Richmond P. Everett, a silver pitcher and a gold watch. Amherst Everett was living on Arnold St. in 1824, with place of business on South Water St. He was in partnership with Walker Humphrey.
- (114) Josiah Keene, son of Charles Keene, b. 1779; d. June 5, 1868; m. (1) Abby Hall, and m. (2) Ann, dau. of William Wilkinson. He had: Charles L. Keene (1811-1885); Dr. Stephen S. Keene and two daughters who died young. He left an estate on Constitution Hill to his son Charles L. in trust, and an estate on Hopkins St. to his son Stephen S. He was a brass-founder. He had also: Harriet F. Keene (1810-1819) and Anna Hall Keene (1815-1817).

- (115) Thomas Burgess, B. U. 1800; b. Wareham, Mass. Nov. 29, 1779; d. May 18, 1856; m. (1) Mary, sister of Dr. John Mackie; m. (2) Ann Eliza (Barnes) Pratt, widow of Peter Pratt. Children all by the first wife: Alexander Burgess; Frederick Burgess; George Burgess; Mary M. Burgess m. John Kingsbury; Sarah A. Burgess m. Capt. Amasa Paine, U. S. Navy. Judge Burgess was Judge of the Municipal Court and, later, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.
- (116) John Mackie, physician and surgeon, partner, at one time, of Dr. S. Augustus Arnold; m. the widow of Major Benjamin Dunn Jones in 1818; He was b. Aug. 1, 1780; d. Feb. 22, 1833; had dau. Mary Rebecca Mackie; gave by will his farm in Wareham, Mass. to his sister, Sarah Leonard. Graduate of Brown, 1800. First Secretary of R. I. Medical Soc.
- (117) Isaac Bowen, Jr. "mariner" living at 103 South Main St. in 1824; grandfather of the late Charles Wetter Bowen. Isaac Bowen Jr. m. Eliza dau. of Jabez Bullock; he was the compiler of the list of the first pewholders of the First Cong. Church in 1816.
- (118) Martin Page, d. Jan. 25, 1867; age 94 yrs. He m. Prudence, dau. of Jabez Bullock, and had: Thomas B.; Prudence B. m. Walter W. Updike; Sophia B. m. Benjamin N. Lapham; Mary, m. Buffum; Ann C. m. James M. son of Caleb Earle.
- (119) Ira Winsor, b. Oct. 17, 1764; d. April 19, 1819; m. Patience Bullock, dau. of Jabez Bullock, (1767-1838). They were the parents of Mrs. Joshua Mauran. See pew 27.
- (119) Nathaniel Bishop, b. June 2, 1784; d. Sept. 7, 1860; m. Fannie, dau. of Ira and Patience (Bullock) Winsor. Their dau. Mary, m. Gen Ambrose E. Burnside. William W. Bishop was their son. Nathaniel Bishop was a "mariner" and lived on Benefit St., opposite Charles Field St. William W. Bishop m. Nancy K. Dabney and had six children, — daughters, only one of whom survives and only one of whom married, namely, "Nellie", who m. Raymond G. Mowry and has no child.
- (120) Thomas P. Ives, b. Beverly, Mass. April 9, 1769; d. April 30, 1835; m. Hope, dau. of his partner, Nicholas Brown. Children: Charlotte Rhoda Ives, m. William G. Goddard; Moses Brown Ives, m. Ann Allen Dorr; Robert H. Ives, m. Harriet Bowen Amory. For descendants see Chas Brown Memorial.
- (121, 122, vacant).

THE IROQUOIS VISIT ROCHAMBEAU AT NEWPORT IN 1780

EXCERPTS FROM THE UNPUBLISHED JOURNAL OF
THE COMTE DE CHARLUS

by DURAND ECHEVERRIA*

THE FRENCH FORCES under the command of General Rochambeau, who had been sent by Louis XVI to aid the American Revolutionary Army, sailed into Newport Harbor on July 11, 1780.¹ A few days later they disembarked and established their camp on the outskirts of the city. Not until the following June, eleven months later, did they finally leave to join Washington and his ragged troops near Dobbs Ferry, and march south with him to victory at Yorktown.

So for nearly a full year this French army, numbering about 5,000 men and officers, lived in the midst of the American community. It was a unique experience for both the French and the Americans. There were inevitably a few difficulties. Claude Blanchard, Rochambeau's supply officer, found that it took Rhode Island farmers a long time to commit themselves to a business deal, and that even then he could not rely on them. Besides, he said, they dearly loved money, "and *hard* money."² One rugged Rhode Island individualist threatened to hit the Duc de Vioménil, Rochambeau's second in command, over the head with a stick when he caught him hunting on his land.³ But on the whole things went very well. Rochambeau had a pavilion built for the officers, who discovered to their delight many lovely girls in Newport. The practice of quartering the officers separately in private homes with American families led to many warm friendships. When the notorious Duc de Lauzun, on whom Marie Antoinette herself had cast a fond eye, fell ill, the widow Hunter, the mother of two charming daughters, nursed him back to health with what he later recalled as "the most touching kindness."⁴ Fre-

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¹The preparation of this article was made possible by a Brown University President's Fellowship.

²Claude Blanchard, *Guerre d'Amérique* (Paris, 1881), p. 54.

³Vicomte de Tressan, manuscript letters, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, N.A.F., 21510.

⁴*Mémoires du duc de Lauzun et du comte de Tilly*, ed. F. Barrière (Paris, 1862), p. 190.

quently the officers were invited to dinners and dances in the homes of their American friends. "You cannot imagine how well the life I am leading suits me," Montesquieu's grandson wrote to a friend in Paris.⁵ When the time came to leave, the farewells were made with mutual emotion. Berthier, Rochambeau's official historian, recorded, "There was one general cry of regret; the feelings of all had become so changed that every officer was like a member of his host's family, and the most rabid Tories had come to like the French."⁶

One of the most interesting accounts of this year of Franco-American intimacy is an hitherto unpublished journal, which has long lain buried in the National Archives in Paris, written by Armand Charles Augustin, Comte de Castries de Charlus.⁷ Although only twenty-four years old, he was *colonel en second*; that is, second in command, in the Regiment of Saintonge. After describing the months of preparation and waiting which the army endured at Brest and the dreary two-months voyage across the Atlantic, the young count told in the following words of the long expected arrival of the French fleet in Narragansett Bay:

July 11, 1780. We anchored in the evening in Newport Harbor opposite the town. Never had I experienced a keener pleasure than that which I felt upon our arrival in this new continent. Even before sighting the coast we had begun to smell land, and the invigorating air restored our health and our good spirits, which we had of late lost because of the vexations we had suffered.

Our army, which the Americans expected to number 10,000, had been awaited for two months. But as there were a lot of Tories, the General was not so well received as he should have been. When he stepped ashore he found no one to receive him. He went to put up at the inn, and it was not until the next day that he succeeded in meeting the governor of the city. He immediately made the arrangements for the landing of the troops, and then went to look for an area where they could camp.

Acting on M. de Ternay's⁸ suggestion that there was a danger of his being taken prisoner by partisans of the Royalist cause, he ordered a company of Grenadiers to land to guard him.

⁵"Quelques lettres du baron de Montesquieu", *Franco-American Review*, II (1938), p. 201.

⁶Berthier manuscripts, Princeton University Library.

⁷Archives Nationales. Marine B⁴183. Translation by the author.

⁸In command of French fleet.

July 12. The next day the General was completely occupied in making arrangements for establishing the camp for our army. On board the ships we received an order not to go ashore. Nevertheless I took a stroll on Conanicut Island, and that exercise was what both my health and my spirits needed, upset as they were by the vexatious life that I had been leading for some time.

In the evening there was an illumination in the town. Our generals were received in most correct fashion. A few Tories were chased out of town, and the rest did not dare to show their faces.

July 13. The next day the landing of the Grenadiers and Riflemen took place. We were given the order to get our troops ready to follow them. I spent that night aboard, because the Navy refused to give us a large enough number of boats for all the troops to land at the same time. Only two hundred men out of each regiment made camp. It took four days to put all the troops ashore, M. de Ternay refusing to provide all the facilities we needed.

The troops pitched camp one detachment after another. Nothing of interest occurred until the fifteenth, when order began to be established in the organization of the army.

The Major General then made arrangements to supply the troops with what they required. We took infinite pains to respect the rights of the civilians, and M. de Rochambeau issued orders which protected them in every respect.

The soldiers were soon set to work raising earthworks in an effort to put the camp in a defensible condition. On July 24 Lafayette arrived to visit his compatriots. Rumors of an impending British attack caused considerable alarm, and Lafayette persuaded the local authorities to raise the militia to reinforce the French troops. The threat never materialized, and soon the young aristocrat officers began to be bored with their inactivity. It was therefore welcome news to learn that a delegation of Iroquois Indians was coming to pay a visit to the French.

The Comte de Charlus' account of this incident would seem to indicate that these were representatives of the Oneida Tribe of the Six Nations. But Blanchard (who on nearly all details substantiates Charlus in his account of the visit) says that some of them "came from a village called Saut-de-Saint-Louis (located near Albany), which is Catholic."⁹ This was probably Sault Saint Louis or Caughnawaga, a village of Iroquois Indians south of Montreal which had long been under French and Jesuit influence before 1763;

⁹Blanchard, p. 48.

the location *near Albany* is doubtless an error on the part of Blanchard. According to another source some members of the party were Tuscaroras. It has also been said that General Schuyler was responsible for organizing the deputation.¹⁰

Blanchard's account also reveals that some such contact with the Indians had been planned when the expeditionary force was being organized, for he mentions that it had been recommended at Brest that the army take along a supply of red blankets as suitable gifts for the Indians. Blanchard also reveals that Rochambeau had been well coached on the political factors involved. The Iroquois had traditionally been pro-English and anti-French throughout the various colonial wars, and during the Revolution they continued to side mainly with the British. Nevertheless the devotion of many of the Indian tribes to the French could be a secondary but extremely valuable benefit to be derived from the Franco-American alliance. Blanchard recorded, "These savages, who were long standing friends of the French and who in speaking of the King of France call him 'Our Father', presented their compliments to M. de Rochambeau, who received them very graciously and gave them presents. . . . He told them that several of their neighbors, deceived by the English, had made war upon the Americans, who they had been told were our enemies; that, on the contrary, the Americans were our friends whom we had come to defend; and that it would please their Father very much if they would act accordingly and make war against the English. He told them to remember well his speech and to repeat it to their neighbors."¹¹

There is a certain literary as well as historical significance in the visit of the Indians. The tradition of the "Good Savage," of the virtuous child of nature, was a strong one in French thought of the eighteenth century. It had had its finest philosophic expression in Rousseau's two Discourses and it was to have its finest literary expression in Chateaubriand's *Atala*. But how much the idea was a mere philosophic and literary formula is revealed by the reactions of this young aristocrat, the Comte de Charlus, in his first meeting with primitive man. He had obviously never heard of the Noble Savage, and was only amused and amazed by his antics. But we shall

¹⁰See, *History of Newport County*, ed. Richard M. Bayles (New York, 1888), p. 402.

¹¹Blanchard, p. 49.

let him tell his own story:

August 30, 1780. On this day took place the reception of the savages. The English have tried to make them believe that the French nation no longer existed and have done everything possible to win them over to their side. We hope that by means of the gifts which we have given them from the King we shall cause a great change among them and win them back again.

There are nineteen of these savage deputies, who have been sent by the same number of different small states. The presents of the King seemed to me cheap; there was a blanket and a shirt apiece. It is true that we must give them as much every day, and that we are saving the gold medals with the portrait of the King for the four chiefs, and some necklaces and earrings for the day they leave.

The chief of these nations seemed intelligent. He is a colonel and speaks French fairly well, and even without an accent. There is another who is a German and who was brought to this country at the age of ten. They dress in woolen blankets, which some wear dyed red. That is the color they like best. In addition they wear shirts, leggings and shoes. When they entered the General's quarters they had one foot unshod as a mark of respect. But they go about completely naked as much as they can.

M. de Rochambeau paid his compliments to them, to which they responded. He gave them dinner, and they drank wine which was three-quarters water, so as not to get drunk.

Those who were seated at the General's table did not eat very much, astonished as they were by everything and much embarrassed. They scarcely dared smoke their pipes. But finally they became used to the General's presence and were no longer embarrassed by him. That afternoon they came to review the whole army with the General, and all the regiments, one after the other, maneuvered before them. They were greatly delighted and manifested their amazement by cries which resembled rather the howls of animals, especially when the Hussars galloped past.

The firing of the battalions and of the cannons terrified them, as did the deployment of the columns from close order. Our men were so evenly aligned after deployment that the savages one after the other walked up to them and bending down their heads, sighted along under the butts of the soldier's guns. This performance seemed so extraordinary that we had a lot of trouble in keeping our soldiers from laughing.

August 31. Mass was to be said for them in the morning, because they are very fond of the ceremonies of the Church. But the rain prevented it. Some of them are Catholics, and even very devout ones. Nearly all have a high regard for M. de Montcalm and M. de Lévis,¹² about whom they inquired with much interest.



R. I. H. S. Library

LANDING OF THE FRENCH ARMY, NEWPORT, JULY, 1780

Illustration from *Historisch-genealogischer
Calender oder Jahrbuch . . . für 1784*, Leipzig

To amuse them, M. d'Estaing¹³ when he was in Boston had Mass said at half past four in the afternoon, without consecrating the host. They go to Mass with the same pleasure as that with which we might go to the theater.

The savages went to dine aboard M. de Ternay's ship. They thought the vessels were wonderful. For their amusement the cannons were fired, which frightened them so much that they tried to run away. . . .

Towards evening I went to the dance performed by the savages. Never, I think, was there so extraordinary a sight. One who has not witnessed it cannot conceive what it is like.

How can men work themselves into such a state and act so madly? One would think they were wild animals. Frightful cries and howls precede their dances. Some beat time by striking two pieces of wood together, others by hitting a skin stretched over the end of a barrel. This is how they whip up their spirits, while some of them perform dance steps in time and follow the cadence.

Their war whoops are at least just as terrifying. But in spite of their noisy amusements, I thought these people very civilized for savages. They live in Aneida [*sic*], a small town near Lake Erie and Lake Ontario.

They are not a very honest people. They possess no money, and when they travel they are fed and lodged without having to pay a penny. This is to the interest of the Americans, who do not let them lack anything.

September 1. The savages delivered a new harangue of thanks to M. de Rochambeau, who gave them in reply the remainder of the gifts which the King had charged him to present.

The chief refused the coronation medal that we tried to give him, in order, he told us, not to arouse the jealousy of the other savages and to prevent them from thinking that he was grasping and had asked for this distinction. He was given silver bracelets and other special gifts which he accepted. As for the others, they were presented with earrings; they seemed to be well enough satisfied with them. They must love us for ourselves, for they thought the English much more generous than we. Indeed they shower them with gifts and get them drunk; yet in spite of that these savages desire to see us in their land, being sure that their fellow tribesmen would be eager to place themselves under the protection of their good father the King of France.

In the evening they were taken to see an acrobat perform upon a tightrope. They continued to be filled with amazement and they

¹²The Duc de Lévis succeeded Montcalm after his death as commander of the French troops in Canada in 1759.

¹³In command of the French fleet in American waters in 1778-1779.

voiced their approval. Indeed I believe that they had never seen anything so extraordinary.

A numerous assemblage of the most beautiful ladies attended the performance. Miss particularly, the local beauty, impressed them by her glamour. But they thought she was much too white. It is true that she was without rouge, and that is the color they prefer to any other, for they habitually paint themselves carmine.

That evening they uttered once more their war whoops, and the next day they departed for Washington's army.

After the departure of the Indians, life at Newport became somewhat more interesting. Two of the officers, the Chevalier Dillon and the Vicomte de Noailles fought a duel over some trifle, in which the Vicomte was in the wrong, according to our narrator, and was wounded *dans les parties*. The Comte de Charlus also had a dinner invitation from Providence which he declined. He wrote:

I was invited to a party which was being given in Providence, the principal purpose of which was to eat a turtle. I admit that such a mess did not appeal to me as a tasty dish. In any other country than this it certainly would not be imagined that to offer such entertainment to a stranger was an act of courtesy.

The Count also received a number of letters from his friend Lafayette on military subjects, and he gave a little interesting military gossip in saying that neither the Baron de Vioménil nor the Chevalier de Chastellux, both generals on Rochambeau's staff, had much liking for their commander. The great event of the autumn, however, was the interview between Rochambeau and Washington, of which Charlus gives some interesting details:

September 24. In the group which met there were only Washington, Rochambeau, de Ternay, Lafayette and Washington's two aides-de-camp, the friends Hamilton and [blank space].

The General was accompanied by fifty men and officers, among whom was his general of artillery and thirty dragoons, whose horses are, it is said, very handsome.

The party of the French general was small and unimpressive. He brought along only his son, de Ternay, Désandrouins, and de Fersen and de Damas, his two aides-de-camp.

All returned delighted with General Washington. They conceived for him an unbelievable enthusiasm. They said he was simple, kind and extremely courteous.

Shortly after this historic meeting the journal of the Comte de Charlus comes to an end. Unfortunately we do not have his impres-

sions of that gay winter in Newport, nor his account of the march south next summer and the Battle of Yorktown. He returned safely to Paris, however, as one of the heroes of the American War. During the French Revolution he was a member of the States General, later emigrated, fought with the English against the Revolutionary armies, and after the Restoration returned to the service of the Bourbons as the Duc de Castries. He died in 1842.

ELEAZER ARNOLD

by WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER

ELEAZER ARNOLD, builder of the noted seventeenth century stone-end-chimney house, was a typical representative of the second generation of Rhode Island settlers. Born in 1651 in Watertown, Massachusetts, son of Thomas and his second wife Phoebe Parkhurst, Eleazer came to Rhode Island with his parents in 1661. Thomas was a large landholder and occupied public office as did every citizen of note.

After King Philip's War the Providence settlement pushed into the "outlands" on every side but particularly toward the north. It was wild country as is shown in the diary of Madam Knight (1704) who wrote of the Old Devil's Tavern:

May all that dread the cruel feind of night
Keep on, and not at this curs't Mansion light.
'Tis Hell; 'tis Hell! and Devills here do dwell:
Here dwells the Devill — surely this's Hell.

The Reverend Jacob Bailey wrote (1754) of Wrentham, Massachusetts, "The people begin now to appear in a sylvan roughness; the women in these parts wear but little more clothing than what nature gave them." Of Pawtuxet, he wrote, "In riding through a great wood, we came, at length, to a house about the bigness of a hog-sty. The hut abounded in children, who came abroad to stare at us in great swarms, but were clothed only with a piece of cloth about the middle, blacker than the ground on which they trod."

Such were the conditions in Rhode Island as pictured by travelers of a period only fifty years after Eleazer Arnold erected his mansion in 1687 on the Great Road to Mendon. The land he built on was fifty acres, left to him by his father at "World's End," near Scott's Pond. There it stands today.

In 1710 traffic on the road had so increased as to warrant Eleazer Arnold to apply for and obtain a license from the Town of Providence to "keep a public house for the entertainment of strangers" and sale of liquor.

He held many public offices: Justice of the Peace, 1705-1709; member of the Town Council, 1684-1686; and Deputy to the General Assembly of Rhode Island eight times from 1686 to 1715.

During the troublous times of the Andros administration, Eleazer Arnold was one of six inhabitants of Providence who declared their opposition to the surrender of the Rhode Island charter to any other person or government except King James himself.

The best evidence concerning the ordinary lives of early settlers is to be found in their wills. Administration of Eleazer Arnold's will was granted January 14, 1722/3. The original inventory totaled £399:07:04. A supplementary report brought the grand total to £441:17:00. With one exception, that of Captain Jonathan Crawford, mariner and merchant, Eleazer Arnold was possessed of as much property as anyone who died in Providence between 1716 and 1722.

The inventory reveals among other items:

<i>Personal effects:</i>	£	s	d
Imprimis his wareing apparel.....	08	19	00
three bits of new Cloath.....	01	17	04
Raizors sisers and old specktlcs.....	00	03	00
a Blanket and 2 guns.....	01	17	06
a Brass mortar and pestell shears knife and hammer	00	17	00
A Chest and ten Chares.....	01	09	00
a spining wheale and a warming pan.....	01	04	00
a flock bed and bolster and a narrow hoe....	01	18	06
27½ pound of wool.....	02	00	00
an old bed the Indians used to Lie on with sum tobaco	00	05	06
an Houre glass tin Tunnel and a Box.....	00	02	00
a frying pan Brass skillet and a mug.....	00	09	00
two tubs a Rundlet and a Tray.....	00	11	00
a Ceeder tub and three sives.....	00	09	06
Eleven swine	05	02	00
two plow sheairs and Colters.....	01	05	00
five old sithes 3 axes.....	00	13	06
four Calves	02	12	00
Ninteene sheepe	07	00	00

Cart wheales and irons: yoake and Cleaves	07	02	06
a Yoake of oxen and five Cows	27	00	00
2 Yearlings and a Bull	07	02	00
a horse and two Colts and sum hay	35	00	00
Horse gears pitchfork ax and Cart Rope	00	16	00
a Plough and three Bells with Collars	01	02	08
Pailes and Grindstone	01	01	00
a Paier of Cyder mill Roles	00	12	00
Copper money	00	02	00
in Bills of Publick creadite	63	06	00
in Bills of Creadite	00	06	06
money due upon morgage Deede	31	00	00
money due upon a Note	10	00	00
money due upon four bonds	95	00	00
23 ounces & $\frac{3}{4}$ & : 28 : graines of silver money	14	05	04

Thus Eleazer Arnold, son of an early settler, built a splendid mansion in the wilderness, became a tavern keeper as well as a large farmer, and died with a substantial estate.

Mr. H. Minot Pitman, noted genealogist, has supplied the following information about the owners and occupants of the house:

Jeremiah Arnold, son of Eleazer, b. ca. 1680; m. Freelove; d. 1774/5. Freelove Arnold, daughter of Jeremiah, m. 13 August 1741, as his second wife, Job Arnold, who had bought the house in 1736. Job Arnold, b. 6 November 1707; m. (1) 18 January 1729/30 Kesiah Hawkins; m. (2) 13 August 1741 Freelove Arnold; d. 1776. He was the son of Thomas Arnold and his wife, Mary Angell, and the grandson of Richard Arnold, brother of Eleazer, the builder of the house.

Oliver Arnold, son of Job and Freelove (Arnold) Arnold, b. Smithfield, 10 June 1788; m. Cumberland, 26 February 1818, Betsey Bowen Whipple; d. 10 July 1828. He was Captain of the Cumberland and Smithfield Light Dragoons, 1820-22.

Preserved Arnold, son of Preserved and Betsey Bowen (Whipple) Arnold, b. 26 June 1828; m. 21 October 1851, Annie Lazell Harris; d. 10 February 1919. No surviving issue. He left the house to his great-nephews and nieces, Charles and Dr. Emery Porter, Margareth Arnold (Pitman) Chamberlain, Eleanor Louise (Pitman) Smith, Lawrence Minot Pitman, and Harold Minot Pitman, who gave it to The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

HERODIAS (LONG) HICKS-GARDINER-PORTER A TALE OF OLD NEWPORT

by G. ANDREWS MORIARTY, A.M., LL.B., F.S.A., F.A.S.G.*

THIS IS some account of that redoubtable and, undoubtedly, glamorous lady, Herodias Long, who played such havoc with the domestic peace of several seventeenth century Rhode Island households.

Herodias Long was born in England about 1623/4, but where or who her parents were, is, as yet, unknown. She married John Hicks¹ by license dated 14 March 1636/7 in St. Faith's, the underchapel of St. Paul's, London, and soon after left for New England. They first settled in Weymouth, Massachusetts, where Hicks was granted land in 1637.² Thence they removed to Newport, Rhode Island, where Hicks was one of those admitted an inhabitant since 1:3mo.: 1638, and on 14 September 1640 he was made a Freeman. He was on a jury, probably in March 1641/2 and again on 3 December 1643. On 7: 1 mo.: 1644/5 he was before the Court and bound for £10 to keep the peace for beating his wife Harwood Hicks and to continue bound until his wife should come and give evidence concerning the matter. This is his last appearance in the Rhode Island records.³ He removed to Flushing, Long Island, then in the Government of New Netherland, where on 19 October 1645 he was designated as one of the Patentees to settle Flushing in a Patent granted by Governor William Kieft. In 1647 he was an adjuster of Indian claims and he was Delegate from Newtown to a meeting called by the Governor in New Amsterdam 26 November 1653. On 2 July 1658 he was an Assistant at Hempstead. In 1666 he was a Justice of the Peace at Hempstead and held office until his death. His will, dated 29 April 1672, was proved at Jamaica, New York, 14 June 1672.⁴

When Hicks went to New Netherland, Herodias remained in

*The writer wishes to acknowledge valuable assistance given him by Herbert F. Severnsmith, Esq., F.A.S.G. of Washington, D. C., with respect to the Hicks family of Long Island, and by Prof. William J. Hoffman of Keystone College, for translating the New Netherlands divorce case of John Hicks.

¹London Marriage Licenses.

²Weymouth Hist. Soc., no. 2, p. 276.

³Chapin's Doc. Hist. of Rhode Island, vol. II, *passim*.

⁴Liber I, p. 23, New York City Wills; and information from Herbert F. Severnsmith, Esq., of Washington, D. C.

Rhode Island. On 12 December 1645 John Hicks wrote from Flushing to John Coggeshall at Newport the following:

Now for parting what way there is seeing she have carried the matter so subtilly as she have I know nt, but if there be anyway to bee used to untie that Knott, wch was at first by man tyed that so the world may be satisfied I am willing thereunto, for the Knot of affection on her part have been untied long since, and her whoredome have freed my conscience on the other part, so I leave myself to yor advice being free to condissend to yor advice if ther may be such a way used for the final parting for us.⁵

Seversmith states that she obtained a divorce from Hicks in Rhode Island on 2 December 1643. On 1 June 1655 John Hicks was granted a divorce from Herodias in the Court at New Amsterdam by Governor Peter Stuyvesant.⁶

The original of the decree in the state archives at Albany and a translation follows:

1 Junio . . .

Wij de Heeren Raaden van N. Nederlant gesien en geleesen sijnde t request van John Hicks Schout tot Flissingen opt Lange Eijlant waer bij hij remonstreert en te kennen geeft dat zijn huisvrouw Hardwood Longh van hem weck geloopen en met een ander omtrent 9 jaeren getrouwt is geweest en daer bij 5 a 6 kinderen heeft geprocureert; versocht derhalven dewijlen zijn huisvrouw den bant vant houwelijcx hadden gebroocken (: sonder dat hij haer eenige reden daertoe hadde gegeven) dat hij mocht gequalificeert en hem teegelaten worden omme met eenich eerbare Dochter ofte Wedue te moogen in den houwelijken staat (:volgens politique en Ecclesiastique ordannantien) treden. Soo ist dat de welgemelde heeren Raaden gelet hebbende opt versoeck vande gemelde John Hicks mitsgaders op de attestatien en getuijgenissen van verscheijde waerlycke inwoonderen deser provincie aende voors. requeste geannexeert, bevinden dat John Hicks volgens goddel. & wereltl. rechten sijn versoeck niet can gewijgert worden hebben hem dierhalven mits deesen verleent brieven van divortie en vrij en vranck vande . . . wedue ind H Staet . . . te moogen begeven volgens politique en ecclesiastique ordonnatie. Alsus gedaen . . . engegeven in onse vergaderinge Advy ut supra N. Nederlant en met onse cachet in Rooden wassche hier opgedruet bevestigt. Was geteeckent, Nicasius De Sille, La mantagne, Corn. van Tienhove.

* * *

We the councillors of New Netherland having seen and read the

⁵Chapin, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁶O'Callaghan's Cal. Hist. Mss. of N. Y., vol. I, p. 149.

request of John Hicks sheriff on Long Island, in which he remonstrates and presents that his wife Hardwood Longh has ran away from him about 9 years ago with someone else with whom she has been married and had by him 5 or 6 children. His wife having therefore broken the bond of marriage (without him having given any reason thereto) he asks to be qualified and given permission to marry again an honorable young girl or a widow (in accordance with political and ecclesiastical ordinances) The above mentioned councillors having taken notice of the above request and in addition of the affidavits and declarations attached thereto made by trustworthy inhabitants of this Province, they find that this request cannot be refused and that they therefore have given him letters of divorce and free and frank . . . widow in the bond of marriage . . . allowed to enter in accordance with political and ecclesiastical ordinances; done and given in our meeting Ad ut supra. New Netherland and have attached our seal in red wax. Was signed Nicasius De Sille, La Montagne, Corn: van Tienhoven.

After Hicks went to New Netherland, and possibly before, Herodias went to live with George Gardiner of Newport as his common-law wife and had a numerous family. This George Gardiner was admitted a Freeman at Newport on 17 December 1639,⁷ and he resided there the rest of his life. He had been admitted an inhabitant the preceding year (1638).⁸ On 9 April 1639 he witnessed William Coddington's deed to William Tyng of his Massachusetts lands, and on 1 May 1639 he witnessed Richard Collacot's note to William Coddington.⁹ It may be suggested that perhaps George Gardiner may have been a young man in the employ of Coddington at this time. In 1662 he was a Commissioner. He died testate after 22 October 1673 and about 1677, but the record of the probate of his estate was in the lost Newport records.

Herodias became an ardent follower of George Fox, and on 11: 3 mo.: 1658 she, "the mother of many children, with a babe sucking at her breast," accompanied by a girl, Mary Stanton, who helped to carry the child, walked from Newport to Weymouth to bear witness and was whipped ten stripes by order of Governor Endicott.¹⁰ By 1664 she had had enough of George Gardiner and presented a petition to the King's Commissioners, then in Rhode Island, asking

⁷Chapin, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁸Chapin, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁹Lechford's Note Bk., pp. 63, 67.

¹⁰Bishop's New England Judged, pp. 52, 406.

for a separation from him. It was referred by the Commissioners to Gov. Benedict Arnold, who placed it before the General Assembly. In this petition she states that upon her father's death she was sent to London by her mother "in much sorrow and grieve of spirit, and there taken by on John Hicks unknowne to any of my friends, and by the said Hicks privately married in the under Church of Paules, called St. Faith's Church, and in a little while after, to my great grieve, brought to New England, when I was between thirteene and fourteene years of age, and lived two years and halfe at Weymouth, twelve miles from Boston; and then came to Rhode Island about the year 1640; and there lived ever since, till I came heare to Pettycomscutt. Not long after my coming to Rhode Island, there happened a difference betweene the said John Hicks and myselfe, soe that the authority that then was under grace, saw cause to part us, and ordered that I should have the estate which was sent mee by my mother, delivered to me by said John Hicks; but I never had it, but the said John Hicks went away to the Dutch, and carried away with him the most of my estate; by which meanes I was put to great hardshipe and straight. Then I thought to goe to my friends, but was hindered by the warres, and the death of my friends. My mother and brother loosing their lives and estates in his Majestyes service, and I being not brought up not to labour, and young, knew not what to do to have something to live, having noe friend; in which straight I was drawne by George Gardener to consent to him soe fare as I did, for my mayntainance. Yett with much oppression of spirit, judging him not to be my husband, never being married to him according to the law of the place; alsoe I told him my oppression, and desiered him, seeing that hee had that little that I had, and all my labour, that he would allow mee some maintainance, either to live apart from him, or else not to meddle with mee; but hee alwayes refused. Therefore, my humble petition to your honours is, that of that estate and labour hee has had of mine; and that the house upon my land I may enjoy without molestation, and that hee may alow mee my child to bring up with maintainance for her, and that he may be restrained from ever meddling with me, or toubling mee more." The Commissioners, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick handed this petition to Governor Arnold on 20 March 1664/5 "to doe justice to the poore petitioner according to the best of your judgment."

The General Assembly took the testimony of George Gardiner and of Robert Stanton, a Newport Quaker, and a close friend of George and Herodias. Gardiner admitted that "he cannot say that ever hee went on purpose before any magistrate to declare themselves, or to take each other as man and wife, or to have their approbation as to the premises." Stanton on being asked "whether hee knew that ever George Gardener and Hored, his reputed wife were ever married according to the custom of the place," answered "that hee knew noe other marriage, but onely one night being at his house both of them did say before him and his wife that they did take one the other as man and wife."

On 3 May 1665 the Assembly decreed the separation of the parties, but did not find things exactly as stated by Herodias.

Whereas Hored Long, heretobefore the wife of John Hicks, and since the reputed wife of George Gardener of Newport in Rhode Island, by a petition presented unto the Right honourable His Majestyes Commissioners did most impudently discover her owne nakedness by declaring therein unto their honours, that although she had lived for a long space of time with the aforesaid Gardener, as in a married estate, and had owned him as her lawfull husband, yett she was never lawfully married to him, neither could owne him in such a relation, and soe consequently that she had lived all this time in that abominable lust of fornication, contrary to the generall apprehension of her neighbors, she having had by the aforesaid Gardener many children . . . and upon diligent search have found it to be even soe as the aforesaid Hored hath declared, and that by the confession alsoe of the aforesaid Gardener, soe that that horrible sin of uncleannes in which they had lived for the space of eighteen or twenty yeares together, and had under cover of a pretended marriage (owning each other as man and wife), being now and not before, by her own acting and confession brought to light and most shamefully expressed to the publicke view, to the extreme reproach and scandall of this jurisdiction . . .

They were each to pay a fine of £20 before the next sitting of the Court in October and "the aforesaid Gardener and Hored are hereby straightly required that from henceforth they presume not to lead soe scandolose a life, lest they feel the extremest penalty that either is or shall be provided in such cases." They then proceeded to reenact the Act of 1647 for such cases, with further additions, and declared that it should be strictly enforced.¹¹

¹¹Rhode Island Colonial Records, vol. II, pp. 99-105.

At this same sitting of the General Assembly (3 May 1665) Mrs. Margaret Porter, the elderly wife of John Porter, presented a petition to the Assembly asking that her husband be made to support her. This John Porter had been a Freeman at Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1633. Belonging to the Hutchinson party, he had removed with Coddington to Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1638. He continued to reside in Portsmouth until he removed to Pettaquamscutt (South Kingstown, Rhode Island) after 20 January 1656/7, on which date he and several other persons purchased from the Indians a large tract of land known as the "Pettyquamscott Purchase." By his wife Margaret he had a daughter, Hannah, who married, about 1658 Samuel Wilbor one of the Pettaquamscutt Purchasers.

In her petition Mrs. Porter "doth most sadly complaine that her said husband is destitute of all congugall love towards her, and sutable care for her; that hee is gone from her and hath left her in such a nessesetous state that unavoydably she is brought to a meere dependence upon her children for her dayley suply, to her very great grieffe of heart; and the rather considering that there is in the hands of her said husband a very competant estate for both their subsistance; whereupon the said Margrett hath most earnestly requested this General Assembly to take of her and to take her deplorable estate into their serious consideration, so as to make some suitable provision for her reliefe, out of the estate of her husband; and that spedily, before hee and it be convayed away." The Assembly "having a deepe sense upon their hearts of this sad condition which this poore and ancient matron is, by this meanes, reduced into," directed that all deeds and conveyances made by John Porter since his departure from her shall be void and of no force.¹² On 27 June 1665 he was released from this restraint, as he had made such provision for her for life as satisfied her.¹³ Soon after John and Margaret Porter were divorced and John married Herodias.

On 1 January 1670/1 John Porter and wife Herodias deeded to William Gardiner, son of George of Newport, 200 acres at Narragansett, which bounded westerly on Henry Gardiner. On 27 December 1671 they deeded to Nicholas Gardiner one sixteenth interest in 1000 acres of land in the Pettaquamscutt Purchase.¹⁴ A map of the

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 119-121.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

¹⁴Austin's Gen. Dic. of R. I. p. 155.

land on the west side of the Pettaquamscutt River made on 5 October 1705 shows the contiguous lots of Nicholas, William, Henry, Benoni, and George Gardiner and of John Watson.¹⁵ On 19 May 1671 Benoni, Henry, George, and Nicholas Gardiner were inhabitants of Pettaquamscutt, who took the oath of allegiance to King Charles.¹⁶

John Hicks and Herodias had two children, Hannah and Thomas, and possibly a third child. When he went to Flushing, Hicks evidently carried his children with him. Hannah married about 1653/4 William Haviland of Flushing. She is said to have died in 1712.¹⁷ Thomas was also of Flushing. In 1666 he obtained a patent from Governor Nicolls of four thousand acres on Madnan's Neck. He died shortly before 28 January 1741/2 aged nearly 100 years. The *New York Post Boy* under date of 26 January 1749 states that "he left behind him of his offspring above three hundred children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren." His will dated 15 May 1727, was proved 28 January 1741/2.¹⁸ He married first between 23 February 1657 and 19 January 1658 Mary, widow of John Washburne and daughter of Richard Butler, who died before 1677; and he married second in 1677 Mary Doughty, daughter of Elias Doughty of Flushing, who died in 1713. He had thirteen children.¹⁹

After his divorce from Herodias in 1655 John Hicks married Florence, widow of John Carman, who died shortly thereafter and he married third soon after 22 January 1662 (the date of their pre-nuptial agreement) Rachel, widow of Thomas Starr, who survived him.

George Gardiner and Herodias had issue: Benoni, born about 1644; Henry, born about 1646; George, born about 1649; William, born about 1652; Nicholas, born in or about 1654; Dorcas born about 1656 (married John Watson); and probably Rebecca, born about 1658 (married John Watson as his second wife).²⁰ They all lived in Narragansett.

After his separation from Herodias, George Gardiner married Lydia, daughter of Robert Ballou of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and

¹⁵The Gardiners of Narragansett, by Caroline Robinson, at p. 204.

¹⁶R. I. Col. Rec., *op. cit.*, p. 390.

¹⁷The Hicks Mss., *ex penes*, Long Island Hist. Soc., Brooklyn, N. Y.

¹⁸New York City Wills, Liber 14, p. 182.

¹⁹Information of Herbert F. Seversmith.

²⁰Austin, *op. cit.*

Boston, Massachusetts. By her he had Joseph, born about 1666/7; Robert, born about 1668; Lydia, probably born about 1670; Mary, born about 1672; and Peregrine, born about 1674. These children lived in Newport and Providence. After Gardiner's death Lydia married second William Hawkins of Providence on 14 June 1678.

The destruction of the Newport records renders it difficult to give an exact account of the children of George and Herodias, and their ages are only approximate. From the order in which they signed the oath of allegiance in 1671 it would seem that the sons were born in this order: Benoni, Henry, George, William, and Nicholas. In 1727 Benoni is said to have testified calling himself about ninety years old. It would seem that, like many old people, he overstated his age considerably and his brother Henry, who in 1738, called himself "aged about 93" was considerably nearer the mark.²¹ In 1711 Nicholas called himself about fifty-seven.

There can be no doubt that Benoni, Henry, George, William, and Nicholas were the children of Herodias. They all shared in the Pettaquamscutt lands of John Porter. On 8 April 1692, at a meeting of the Pettaquamscutt proprietors, Benoni, George, William, and Nicholas Gardiner and John Watson made their brother Henry Gardiner their agent to sign on their behalf.²² In the deed of John and Herodias Porter to William Gardiner of 1 January 1670/1 he is called the son of George Gardiner of Newport.²³ On 17 November 1705, Benoni, Henry, George, William, and Nicholas Gardiner and John Watson, together with their wives Mary, Joan, Tabitha, Elizabeth, and Hannah Gardiner and Rebecca Watson, all of Kingstown, sold 410 acres on Point Judith Pond to John Potter for £150 to be paid to Thomas Hicks of Flushing, Long Island.²⁴

Dorcas, wife of John Watson, was also a child of George and Herodias. It has been stated that John Watson's second wife, Rebecca, was another daughter, but this appears to be less certain. John Watson and Dorcas were married before 7 November 1673 when they witnessed, apparently as husband and wife, a deed of George Gardiner, Jr., to Nicholas.²⁵ Dorcas died before 1702, when

²¹Austin, *op. cit.*

²²Potter's Hist. of Narragansett, Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc., vol. III, p. 279.

²³Austin, *op. cit.*

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 81.

²⁵Gardiners of Narragansett, Robinson, p. 204, n. 17.

John Watson and wife Rebecca, deeded land to his son John.²⁶ Rebecca may have been, but not necessarily, another daughter of George and Herodias.

With respect to the children of George Gardiner and his second wife Lydia Ballou, Joseph, Robert, and Peregrine were clearly their children. Lydia Gardiner, who married 4 April 1689 Joseph Smith of Providence, was also probably a child of this marriage. She was carried to Providence by her mother after her second marriage to William Hawkins.²⁷ Their daughter Mary, born about 1672, married at Providence 18 July 1690 Archibald Walker and had five children born between 1691 and 1709.²⁸ Their son, Nathan, born 26 June 1704, was an Ensign in the forces under command of Major Caulfield in the Island of Ratan. His will, dated 25 November 1744, was proved in the Perogative Court of Canterbury (314 Edmunds.) on 15 October 1746. In it he left a bequest to his "cousin John Gardiner [Joseph, George], Merchant in Rhode Island."²⁹

It is worthy of note that the will of John Aylesford, dated 26 January 1638/9, proved 23 February 1638/9, mentioned his lands in Little Ockenbury, his plantation in Barbados and made a bequest of £5 to "Odias Long."³⁰

George and Herodias were the ancestors of the prominent Gardiner family of Narragansett and Maine; and the Gardiners, who were important merchants at Newport in the eighteenth century, descended from George and Lydia. John Gardiner of Newport, son of Joseph and grandson of George and Lydia, was Deputy Governor of Rhode Island, May 1754 to May 1755 and Lieut. Governor September 1756 to January 1764. In 1787 Hon. Sylvester Gardiner of North Kingstown, a descendant of George and Herodias, was a member of the Continental Congress from Rhode Island.³¹

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷Austin, *op. cit.* and Robinson, *op. cit.*

²⁸Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 206, n. 20.

²⁹New Eng. Hist. Gen. Register, vol. LXII, p. 93; Austin, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

³⁰Somersetshire Wills, Brown, 4th Series, p. 58.

³¹Rhode Island Manual 1889/90, pp. 81, 167; Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 43-44

THE COUNTERFEITING VENTURE OF ABEL AND SAMUEL CHAPIN

by KENNETH SCOTT*

RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN in his excellent volume on *Rhode Island Money and Its Counterfeiting*,¹ page 83, makes the following reference to a pair of counterfeiters, Abel and Samuel Chapin: "In the *Boston Courant*, issue of 27 May 1723, is a notice of arrest, at Newport, of Abel and Samuel Chapin, from Springfield, with counterfeit Massachusetts bills of credit. They had a £5 counterfeit plate, belonging to some one else, which was thought to have been cut in England. This case is not found in the Newport Court records and nothing more is known about it."

It is, however, possible to add further details. Abel and Samuel Chapin, who were kinsmen, came from Springfield, Massachusetts, to Newport, Rhode Island, in May, 1723. There, on the 22nd of that month, Samuel was seized for passing a counterfeit £5 bill of the Massachusetts Bay Province. He contrived to slip his wallet to Abel, a move which was suspected by Governor Cranston and the council, so that an officer was ordered to search Abel likewise. An examination of his person revealed between his shirt and skin a pocketbook containing ten false £5 notes of Massachusetts, while in his pocket was found a second purse, thought to be Samuel's, with nine more counterfeits of the same denomination. After questioning by the governor and council both men were committed to prison.

Very soon, probably in a matter of hours, Samuel, on a promise of pardon, made the following confession: some time before, a certain Rushbrook was taken up for counterfeiting paper money and jailed in Springfield, where he confessed where he had hidden his two plates, one of the Massachusetts £5 note and the other of the Connecticut ten shillings bill. Samuel, being present at this confession, went out and found the plates. Thereupon, as he said, he showed them to Abel and proposed to deliver them up to the authorities. Abel, however, according to Samuel's story, persuaded him to the contrary and told him that the plates might be of great service to him. They eventually repaired to a swamp in Springfield, where

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¹(Providence: Society of Colonial Wars, 1942).

they printed twenty of the £5 notes which they thought would be passable, using a lever to make the impression, with the plate laid upon a block. Then Abel either signed them all or got them signed. The bill for which they were arrested was the first one that they attempted to utter. They had not used the Connecticut ten shillings plate because there was a crack in the middle which rendered it useless, while the Massachusetts £5 plate was very nicely cut and was supposed to have been made in England. Samuel further told where the plates were to be found and swore that he had no other accomplice than his kinsman.²

The authorities did not make good their promise of pardon for Samuel. Both Chapins went on trial at Newport at about four o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, September 11, Samuel for uttering the £5 bill and Abel for making it. The trial continued till night, and the next morning the jury brought both in guilty. They were sentenced to return to jail; then, on September 20, they were to be set in the pillory in Newport, have both ears cropped, pay double damages to all who had been defrauded by their emitting and passing, and further pay costs of court and prosecution. In case their effects or estate should not suffice to meet these terms, the Sheriff of Rhode Island was to sell the kinsmen for such time as to pay the requisite sum. On the appointed day they were pilloried, had both ears cropped, and were returned to jail until the rest of the judgment be performed.³

The two kinsmen can be identified beyond all reasonable doubt as first cousins: Abel, born January 28, 1700, died May 3, 1772, the son of Thomas and Sarah (Wright) Chapin; Samuel, born May 22, 1699, died 1779, the son of Samuel and Hannah (Sheldon) Chapin. Of the cousins, Samuel had, on February 7, 1723, married Anna Horton, while Abel married Hannah Hitchcock on January 8, 1724,⁴ so it may be safely assumed that the kinsmen had paid all damages and costs, had been released, and had returned to Springfield before the end of 1723.

²*The New-England Courant*, May 27, 1723, p. 2 and *The Boston News-Letter*, May 30, 1723, p. 2.

³*The Boston News-Letter*, Sept. 13, 1723, p. 2 and October 3, 1723, p. 2; *The Boston Gazette*, Sept. 16, 1723, p. 2; *The New-England Courant*, Sept. 23, 1723, p. 2.

⁴See Gilbert Warren Chapin, *The Chapin Book* (Hartford: Chapin Family Association, 1924) I, pp. 9, 10, 31, 32, 36.

It may be noted that one Nathan Chapin, a nephew of Abel Chapin and the son of Lieutenant Japhet and Thankful (Dickinson) Chapin,⁵ almost fifty years later had apparently tried his hand at counterfeiting also. At the Superior Court held at Springfield the first week in October, 1772, "one Nathan Chapin was indicted for conspiring with others to counterfeit Dollars, which he confessing, was sentenced only to pay a Fine of Six Pounds and Costs, and to be bound to his good behaviour for 12 Months."⁶ It is recorded that some years later Nathan's behavior was indeed good, for when he was captured at Ticonderoga on July 5, 1779, he escaped with eight fellow captives and it was Sergeant Nathan Chapin who guided his comrades through the forests back to Springfield.⁷

⁵*Ibid.* I, p. 36. Nathan was born February 3, 1735 and died February 13, 1830.

⁶*The Massachusetts Gazette; and the Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Oct. 8, 1772, p. 3.

⁷Gilbert Warren Chapin, *op. cit.* I, pp. 144-145.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island, by Antoinette F. Downing and Vincent J. Scully Jr., Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952. x, 241 p., 230 plates, \$18.50.

This mammoth and weighty volume, published by the Preservation Society of Newport County under sponsorship of the late Mrs. Michael M. van Beuren, is by far the most impressive and comprehensive work yet printed on Newport's unique architectural history. It reflects a great deal of study and research on the part of the authors, and of others to whom they give credit, not only in identifying and analyzing the architectural subjects but in depicting the social, commercial and religious life of the town throughout the years.

Mrs. Downing, chairman of the Survey of Newport Architecture of the Preservation Society, honorary associate of the Rhode Island Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, and author of *Early Homes of Rhode Island*, wrote the chapters on the town's earlier history. Mr. Scully of Yale University, author of *The New American Architecture of the Nineteenth Century*, contributed the chapters devoted to resort architecture. The Society's program for preserving Newport's colonial buildings, with particular reference to the Clarke Street area, is included as an appendix.

Mrs. Downing analyzes the progressive architectural styles from the early Gothic stone-ender to the period of the Greek revival in the nineteenth century. She describes the early methods of construction, the development of the house plan, and the public buildings erected in the seventeenth century, and includes in that period the famed but controversial Stone Mill, now apparently divorced from its alleged Norse origin. She notes the changes in the eighteenth century "from a medieval-looking colony of steep pitched roofs, turrets, and overhanging cornices to an urban center with spired churches and balconied public buildings;" an aristocratic colonial town where "broad gambrel or gable-on-hip roofed mansions with pedimented doorways, dormer windows, and cupolas, stood in state behind fine brick walls pierced by wrought iron gates in gardens filled with rare trees and plants imported from France, the Indies, or England." This she regards as Newport's brilliant colonial period of building, from which two names have become immortalized. The first of these is Richard Munday, self-styled house carpenter, whose designs for Trinity Church and the Colony House were inspired by the baroque style of Sir Christopher Wren. The other is Peter Harrison, amateur architect, who introduced into Newport the Palladian revival then current in his native England, as exemplified in the Redwood Library, Touro Synagogue, and the Brick Market. She tells of the undermining of Newport's social and economic pride by the Revolutionary War and the town's recovery before the end of the century. She concludes her history with an analysis of the early republican period in which the Greek temple form transcended the earlier styles in ecclesiastical as well as in domestic work.

From that point Mr. Scully carries on and, in a literary style no less ornate than his subjects, recounts the development of Newport's summer cottages from Richard Upjohn's picturesque "Kingscote" of 1841 to Horace Trumbauer's "Miramar" of 1914. From the "semi-Gothic cottage ornée," the Swiss chalet "with bold expression of the diagonal lines," and the "stick" style with its "skeletal articulation of the structural members," there followed a trend toward the French roof which apparently "atrophied all other architectural energies." The author notes in the early seventies "an exacerbated baroque of the picturesque" in which "truss work proliferates elaborately in the gables." After a period of "wildly inventive fantasies of an animistic vitality" design became focused in "a mixture of antiquarianism and academicism." The acme of palatial mansions was "The Breakers," Richard M. Hunt's masterpiece of 1892, which "casts about for Renaissance or Roman evocations and means toward gigantism and the grandiose." The general run of later work is characterized as "academicism and eclectic pastiche."

The photographs, drawings, and maps, carefully selected and well reproduced, are with few exceptions grouped in the 230 plates which constitute the latter half of the volume. For some reason they are not annotated in the text and the only listing of subjects is in the general index, awkwardly placed in the middle of the book. For a complete understanding by the reader, text and illustrations are of equal importance, the same as an architect's specifications and plans; but the format is such that they can be brought into

relationship only by much thumbing of pages. For example, in a description of Trinity Church (page 49) it is stated that "the raised paneling used for the gallery breasts, like a signature for Newport work of the second quarter of the century, harks back to English seventeenth-century work. So also does the Jacobean 'Union Jack' paneling under the warden's pew. . . ." If the reader desires elucidation he must (1) locate the index, (2) ascertain under "Trinity Church" the plate numbers (48-56) and (3) paw over the plates until he finds the Union Jack on plate 56. As the book measures nine by twelve inches and weighs five and a half pounds the reader is advised to make use of a table or book rest.

JOHN HUTCHINS CADY, F.A.I.A.

Who Lived Here? A Baker's Dozen of Historic New England Houses and Their Occupants. Text by M. A. DeWolf Howe. Photographs by Samuel Chamberlain. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1952. xiii, 139 p. \$5.00.

Everyone who believes in New England will be pleased with *Who Lived Here?* a book about a "baker's dozen" of New England houses. Mr. Howe knows the places and the personalities of which he writes. He is a well-known author and biographer, has been a member of the Rhode Island Historical Society for more than forty years, and is now its senior member. In the opinion of the reviewer Mr. Howe has never been more felicitous in the composition of his vignettes.

Mr. Chamberlain's reputation as a photographer is enviable. There are more than fifty of his pictures, and the excellent illustrations and Mr. Howe's informal historical comment combine to make a book that will delight those who know and love old New England. Rhode Islanders should find the book of interest because it contains two important Rhode Island houses: Whitehall in Middletown, once the home of Bishop Berkeley, and John Brown House in Providence, home of the state's most adventurous merchant.

W. G. R.

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